THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1938)

Compiled by

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books, is a continuation of that published in this BULLETIN in January, 1938. Perfunctory notices of books, blurbs, and reviews which contribute nothing new, have not been noted. The names of female writers are distinguished by a colon (instead of a period) after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year is mentioned in connection with an item, '1938' is to be understood. Reviews of books are listed (without a preceding number), without title, immediately after the books themselves. The discussion of a book is indicated by printing the title within single quotes. The abbreviations employed herein, and what they stand for, follow herewith:

A	— Anglia
Abstr.	—Abstract
Amer.	—American
Archiv	—Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen
B	—Bulletin
bib.	—bibliography
BJRL	—Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
Cambr.	—Cambridge
comp.	—compiler
Col.	—Columbia
CR	—Contemporary Review
CUP	—Cambridge University Press
Diss.	—Dissertation
d	—der, die, das, dem, etc.
dt.	—deutsch, deutscher, etc.
ed., edd.	—editor, editors
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History
Eliz'n	—Elizabethan
Engl.	—English, Englische
ES	—Englische Studien
facs., facss.	—facsimile, facsimiles
f	—für
Fr	— French
fr	—from
Ger	— German
GRM	—Germanisch - Romanische Monatschrift
HUP	—Harvard University Press
ils	—illustrated, illustrations
J	—Journal
JEGP	—Journal of English and Germanic Philology
Libr	—Library
Lit	—Literature
Ln	—London.
M	—Magazine
MLN	—Modern Language Notes
MLR	—Modern Language Review
Mo	—Monthly
MP	—Modern Philology
NQ	—Notes and Queries
NSN	— New Statesman & Nation
OUP	—Oxford University Press
P	—Press
pll	— plates
PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n.
port(s)	— portrait(s)
p. p.	— privately printed
PQ	—Philological Quarterly
Q	—Quarterly.
QR	— Quarterly Review
R	—Review, Revue
RES	—Review of English Studies
Ru	— Russian
SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
SAH	—Stratford Herald
Sat.	—Saturday
Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspere
Shn	—Shaksperian
SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
SP	—Studies in Philology
RCC	—Revue des Cours et Conférences
TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
TLS	—Times Literary Supplement (Ln)
tr.	—translator
Tr	—Transactions
trn	— translation
u.	—und
U	—University
UP	—University Press
Xn	—Christian

A name and title-index will be published in the April issue of the BULLETIN. The compiler's best thanks are due to the publishers, libraries, and personal friends who have assisted him in one way or another in making this compilation. Among the last he is especially indebted to his devoted friend William B. Kempling.

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10395. H. Irving [Ger.]—G. Craig. (W. Meyer, tr.)—Theater d Welt, 2: 69-76, Feb., 2 ils.

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10406. B. & the defence of learning.—G. Bullough.—*17th Century Studies,* pp. 1-20.

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10410. B & the rosicrucians.—R. J. A. Bennett.—Baconiana, 23: 67-74, Apr.

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10414. H. Bock's *Staat u Gesellschaft bei F. B.*—R. Metz.—ES, Aug., pp. 433-35.

10415. F. B. als Staatsdenker u Wissenschaftstheoretiker.—H. Bock.—Neuphilol. Monattschr., 9: 255-68, July.

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Comedy of Errors *(Errors)*

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Henry V *(H5)*

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Henry VI *(H6)*

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Much Ado *(MA)*

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10875. *'TS.'*—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy,* pp. 73-99.

Tempest, The *(T)*

10876. Sir Dudley Digges & *T.*—L. Hotson.—*I, Wm. Sh,* pp. 203-36.

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10880. *Timon* & F. Bacon.—Baconiana, 23: 34, Jan.

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Titus Andronicus *(Titus)*

10882. J. Q. Adams's facs. ed'n of *Titus.*—R. B. McKerrow.—RES, 14: 86-88, Jan.

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10885. *'T&C.'*—A Bellessort.—*Le Plaisir du Théatre,* pp. 103-09.

10885a. *'T&C.'*—D. A. Traversi.—*Scrutiny,* 7: 301-19, Dec.

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10888. Favorski's setting for *TN* in Moscow.—TLS, Sept. 10, p. 577, il.

10889. Actæon: myth & moralising.—Anon.—NQ, 174: 74-76, July 30.

10890. The melancholy Orsino.—J. W. Draper.—B of the Institute of the History of Medicine, 6: 1020-29, Nov.

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10893. *'TGV.'*—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy,* pp. 23-43.

10894. The 'new' Cambridge *Sh* & *TGV.*—S. A. Tannenbaum.—SAB, 13: 151-72 (July), 208-23 (Oct.).

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10895. Hermione's Statue.—G. C. Taylor.—SAB, 13: 82-96, Apr.

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RALEIGH, WALTER

10928. 'Raymundus' & W. R.—A. Davenport.—TLS, Jan. 1, p. 12.

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10931. W. R., Frobisher, & the great carack of Spain.—J. M. French.—NQ, 174: 327-30, May 7.

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RANDOLPH, T.

10933. Problems in *The Drinking Academy* & its ms.—F. T. Bowers.—Huntington Libr Q, 1: 189-98, Jan.
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HAS CASSIUS BEEN MISINTERPRETED?

By DAVID KLEIN

"MUST I endure all this?" implores the outraged Cassius. "All this? Ay, more!" has been the relentless answer. Time seems to have set no limit to what Cassius must endure. Not only has he generally been considered the villain of the play, but every once in a while a commentator startles us with a fresh discovery of some specific variety of turpitude. Thus, Mr. Percy Simpson finds him to be theatrical. To be sure, now and then, an interpreter comes forward with a good word for the wretch, but the praise thus given is apt to be of the faint variety that damns. What the traditional attitude has been may be inferred from the most recent statement of the case, made by a secondary school teacher, in a periodical conducted by and for secondary school teachers—in other words, those to whom is entrusted the molding of literary judgments. In the May, 1936, issue of *High Points,* published in New York, in an article on the teaching of *Julius Caesar,* we read this:

> "The second type [previously described as those self-seekers who find their political careers nipped in the bud] is found in Cassius, a politically ambitious revolutionary, anxious to rid Rome of Cæsar for his own personal advantage . . .
>
> When we regard Cassius as the shrewd self-seeker, which he actually was under the guise of being an idealistic opponent of the evils of the regime, we cannot help bringing to light his modern analogues, the Capones, and the Schultzes, who, like Cassius, employ dull-witted henchmen to carry out crimes which they plan, and who indulge in all the clever subtleties of the criminal mind. It is interesting to watch Cassius, who could easily have earned a comfortable living in 1935 by conducting a course in "How to consummate successful conspiracies in 10 easy lessons."

When we find Cassius identified with the Capones and the Schultzes, is it not time to come to his rescue and call a halt to such nonsense? What Shakspere intended Cassius to be is no mystery. The material for judging him is all there in the play, plain as can be, and the interpretation of the material encounters little difficulty. How so distorted a view of one of Shakspere's noblest characters could ever have been adopted and fostered, is puzzling,—but not inexplicable. Before I offer my explanation I shall analyze

the data that Shakspere gives us for the formation of a judgment.

To begin with, everybody in the play, except Cæsar, thinks well of Cassius. When Cæsar confides his misgivings concerning Cassius to Antony, the latter reassures him:

> Fear him not, Cæsar; he's not dangerous;
> He is a noble Roman and well given.

Nobody doubts Antony's ability to judge human nature. Cassius' slave has respect and affection for him. When Brutus, with a woeful lack of dignity, complains to Pindarus:

> Your master, Pindarus,
> In his own change, or by ill officers
> Hath given me some worthy cause to wish
> Things done, undone,

the latter returns the proud retort:

> I do not doubt
> But that my noble master will appear
> Such as he is—full of regard and honor.

Titinius, finding Cassius dead, mourns:

> Cassius is no more . . .
> The sun of Rome is set! . . .
> Brutus, come apace,
> And see how I regarded Caius Cassius.

And when Brutus arrives, he exclaims:

> The last of all the Romans, fare thee well!
> It is impossible that ever Rome
> Should breed thy fellow.

There is no ambiguity about these utterances. They prove Cassius to be a noble character. If there is anything in the play to prove that he is an unscrupulous, envious, self-seeking politician, there is a bald inconsistency—there is something wrong with the play.

Of course, Cassius has his faults. Cæsar tells us that he loves no plays, and hears no music, and seldom smiles—serious offences, surely; but do they make him out to be a bad man? Puritans are guilty of these offences—and saints might be. Brutus was not altogether free from them. They may be corollary to an uncompromising sincerity, such as is implied in Cassius' challenge to Brutus:

> Were I a common laugher, or did use
> To stale with ordinary oaths my love
> To every new protester; if you know
> That I do fawn on men and hug them hard
> And after scandal them, or if you know,
> That I profess myself in banquetting
> To all the rout, then hold me dangerous.

Cæsar also complains of Cassius that—

> He thinks too much: such men are dangerous;
> . . . . he reads much;
> He is a great observer and he looks
> Quite through the deeds of men.

We admire men who think much, and read much, and can see through the deeds of men to their motives. It is Cæsar, not Cassius, that is here arraigned. He has reason to fear such a man.

What can we infer from Cassius' conduct? Let us follow him through the play. We are introduced to him when he attempts to persuade Brutus to join a conspiracy which he has already organized, whose object is the assassination of Julius Cæsar. He proves to be a shrewd manipulator of men, and at the end of the interview we are sure that Brutus will join.

We next see him on the eve of the assassination. He there rises to heroic proportions. There is a cataclysm in nature, and he feels himself in harmony with the furious forces thus set loose. He goes about the streets with his breast bare, in defiance of the thunderstorm. He is convinced that the "strange impatience of the heavens" proves that the gods have made his cause their own. His alertness is again in evidence. He recognizes Casca by his voice and Cinna by his gait, and he succeeds in winning a new recruit in Casca, at this, the eleventh hour. Taking this new recruit along, he makes his way with his fellow-conspirators to Brutus' house, where Brutus formally joins them. At that moment Cassius drops into a subordinate position, deferring in everything to the new leader, Brutus, even when the latter's ruling is contrary to his own better judgment. Nevertheless, it is not long before he is called back, at least for a moment, to seize the helm to save their cause from going on the rocks. The first few minutes following

the assassination constitute, of course, an extremely critical period—perhaps the most critical in the story. How does Brutus measure up to the crisis? Does he behave like the leader of a great cause, the success of which now hangs in the balance, or like the man who has just murdered his friend—"a dreadful thing," as he himself calls the act? The answer is that he behaves like the man who has just murdered his friend. When Metellus advises "Stand fast together," Brutus exclaims, "Talk not of standing"—and remains standing. Presently Trebonius re-enters with the report that—

> Men, wives and children stare, cry out and run
> As it were doomsday—

—and Brutus resigns himself to utter despair:—

> Fates, we will know your pleasures!
> That we shall die, we know; 't is but the time
> And drawing days out, that men stand upon.

Cassius, realizing how fraught with danger is this state of mind, promptly seeks to use Brutus' own thought to minimize the seriousness of the assassination.

> Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life
> Cuts off so many years of fearing death.

Brutus snatches at the suggestion, and elaborates it with the eagerness—and the simplicity—of a child:—

> Grant that, and then is death a benefit:
> So are we Cæsar's friends, that have abridg'd
> His time of fearing death.

Stirred from his apathy, Brutus calls to his companions to stop and bathe their hands in Cæsar's blood, besmear their swords, walk to the market place and cry

> "Peace, freedom and liberty!"

Whereupon Cassius exclaims:

> How many ages hence
> Shall this our lofty scene be acted o'er!

This is the speech that prompted Mr. Percy Simpson to declare: "It is not the only passage in which Shakspere has given a touch of pose, of theatricality to the character of Cassius." Mr. Simpson assumes here a novel position. It is commonly held that it is Brutus who is given the touch of pose, in contrast with Cassius. Mr. Simpson has failed to take into consideration the occasion and the pur-

pose of the speech. The course of action recommended by Brutus has more than a mere touch of pose and theatricality, but his mind is now traveling in a safe direction; Cassius seeks to encourage him in his present train of thought. It happens that he has miscalculated, and touched the wrong chord; for what Brutus is impressed with is the difference, not the similarity, between the image painted by Cassius and the present situation. In the former the assassination was merely make-believe—"sport"; whereas in the latter Cæsar was really dead. To recover the ground lost, Cassius hastens to urge the impression which that play-acting would make upon posterity. It would bring glory to the memory of Brutus and his companions. They would be called "the men that gave their country liberty." When, finally, the ever-ready Decius comes to the rescue with his question, "What, shall we forth?", Cassius answers decisively:

> Ay, every man away.
> Brutus shall lead; and we will grace his heels
> With the boldest and best hearts of Rome.—

thus making a desperate effort to shake Brutus out of his daze and brace him up.

Presently we see him making a vain attempt to prevent Brutus from permitting Antony to speak to the people. Brutus, of course, knows better and insists on the fatal move, so that the next time we see them together their nerves are frayed by impending disaster, and we have the quarrel scene, in which Cassius at last gives vent to his pent-up feelings and tells Brutus to his face that he does not know how to manage things. When Antony calls them flatterers, the indignant Cassius exclaims:

> Now, Brutus, thank yourself:
> This tongue had not offended so today
> If Cassius might have ruled.

After the quarrel Cassius learns of the death of Portia, and is horror-stricken by the news.

Cassius' affection and regard for Brutus is again brought out on the battle-field. When Octavius declares that he "was not born to die on Brutus' sword," Cassius calls him "a peevish schoolboy, worthless of such honor." Their final parting (V, i, 93-126) is memorable.

Cassius' next appearance is his last, and in it both his

manliness and his nobility of soul are made manifest. He enters carrying the ensign:

> *Cassius.* O, look, Titinius, look, the villains fly!
> Myself have to mine own turned enemy:
> This ensign here of mine was turning back!
> I slew the coward, and did take it from him.

He sends Titinius on a mission—apparently to his death. That is more than Cassius is willing to outlive.

> O coward that I am, to live so long,
> To see my best friend ta'en before my face!

He acts the Roman's part and falls on his sword.

I submit that the man who emerges from these lines and situations in a noble, high-minded character. How then, could so unfavorable a view of Cassius come to prevail? A popular proverb gives us a hint of the process. If we give a dog a bad name the hanging becomes a matter of course. Ignoring for the moment the question of how the bad name came to be attacched to him, it is evident that once we think ill of him our minds will be closed to contradicting facts, and we shall interpret everything he says and does in the light (or shadow) of our prejudice. For instance, it seems clear to many that what Cassius says to Brutus about Cæsar proves that he is actuated by envy. Does it? To be sure, an actor might read the lines in such a way as to make it appear so; to the modern mind there is nothing reprehensible in showing weakness in a fever, or calling for help when drowning. But a Roman might well be amazed that—

> A man of such a feeble temper should
> So get the start of the majestic world,

and hold dictatorial power over his betters. Cassius would rather have gone down than have called for help from the man he had challenged. Again, he is accused of installing the anti-Cæsar poison into Brutus' mind. Well, he doesn't. The poison has been there for some time and apparently developed there naturally. From its workings he has been neglecting his friends, and he has been vexed "with passions of some difference." It makes him unwilling to witness the ceremonies in honor of his best friend, Cæsar, and he refuses to go to them even after Cassius urges him to. It is only after Cassius knows Brutus' state of mind that he

launches on his tirades against Cæsar. It is Brutus, not Cassius, who first hints at Cæsar's ambition:

> What means this shouting? I do fear the people
> Choose Cæsar for their king.

This expression of fear serves Cassius as a starting point, and he proceeds with his so-called "seduction." Before he can come to the point, however, Brutus anticipates him:

> What you would work me to, I have some aim:
> How I have thought of this and of these times,
> I shall recount hereafter.

Similarly, and with a charming disregard of the text, is the famous quarrel scene perverted to represent a conflict between the noble, long-suffering Brutus and the ignoble, nagging Cassius. What the play really gives us is something very nearly the opposite. Brutus is impatiently waiting for Cassius to arrive in order to give him a calling down for refusing to send him money he had asked for. But Cassius, too, has a grievance; namely, that Brutus has ignored his intercession in behalf of Lucius Pella, and can hardly wait till he come face to face with Brutus to charge him with his offence. He thus takes an unexpected offensive. This offensive, however, he holds only for a few lines. When Brutus advances the opinion that Cassius wronged himself to intercede in such a case, Cassius very properly urges that

> In such a time as this it is not meet
> That every nice offence should bear his comment.

Brutus does not even deign to answer this excellent argument, but instead hurls a personal insult at Cassius. From this moment, Cassius is on the defensive, writhing piteously under repeated blows, and exercising incredible self-control. When he declares:

> You know that you are Brutus that speaks this,
> Or by the gods, this speech were else your last—

does anybody doubt that he means what he says? Can there be any doubt what would be the outcome of a physical encounter between the two men? Yet Cassius takes insult after insult, vainly imploring Brutus to desist, and not to presume too much upon his love. That love proves strong enough to keep him from doing that he would be sorry for. Since Brutus maintains the offensive he is in a better position to terminate the quarrel whenever he pleases, and

Cassius gives him several excellent opportunities to do so. But he ignores them and prosecutes the dispute with a grand assumption of self-righteousness, of a kind that is apt to make the possessor blind to himself, and which, indeed, in this case makes it possible for Brutus to declare with a high seriousness:

> I did send to you
> For certain sums of gold, which you denied me:
> For I can raise no money by vile means —

without realizing the baseness of the sentiment which has passed his lips.

When the quarrel finally ends—for no particular reason —except that it had to come to an end some time—Cassius (who has not that exalted opinion of his own goodness which makes Brutus take advantage of every opportunity to speak well of himself) ingeniously assumes that he has been to blame; and Brutus magnanimously forgives him. Shakspere comprehended the compexity of human nature.

I am aware that I may be accused of deliberately overlooking two passages that do not jibe well with my thesis. One of them is mark Antony's last speech, glorifying Brutus:

> This was the noblest Roman of them all:
> All the conspirators save only he,
> Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar;
> He only, in a general honest thought
> And common good to all, made one of them.

This statement is definite—no two ways of reading it. But it directly contradicts the rest of the play. So we have to choose. Now, which shall be accepted as authoritative of Shakspere's intention—the play, or a single short passage which might be omitted without leaving a gap? It is discrepancies such as the one afforded by this passage that men like Fleay and Robertson consider proof of a multiciplity of hands in the writing of the play. But it is not necessary to look upon Antony's encomium as a patch or an interpolation. It would be quite in keeping with Shakspere's method for him to sacrifice consistency to his immediate purpose. What he was interested in at this point was to wind up his play on an optimistic note, as he customarily does in his tragedies. Antony's remarks smooth the way conveniently

for the closing lines, spoken by Octavius, the last words of which are:

> . . . . . and let's away
> To part the glories of this HAPPY day.

Absorbed in his purpose, Shakspere mechanically followed Plutarch, in whom we read:

> It was said that Antonius spake it openly divers times, that of all them that had slain Cæsar, there was none but Brutus only that was moved to do it as thinking the act commendable in itself: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death for some private malice or envy that they otherwise did bear unto him.

If Shakspere became at all aware of the possible incongruity he was creating, he could dismiss it with the thought that Antony would naturally hold the opinion he was expressing, and that the audience had not been called upon to see Cassius through Antony's eyes.

The other passage occurs in the first act, in Cassius' soliloquy following the instigation of Brutus, and offers a less simple problem:

> Well, Brutus, thou art noble; yet, I see,
> Thy honorable metal may be wrought
> From that it is disposed; therefore it is meet
> That noble minds keep ever with their likes;
> For who so firm that cannot be seduced?
> Cæsar doth bear me hard; but he loves Brutus.
> If I were Brutus now and he were Cassius,
> He should not humor me.

This sounds very much like a confession on Cassius' part that he knows that he is performing an ignoble act. But is that a necessary implication? All he admits is that if he loved Cæsar he could not be brought to join a conspiracy against him. In other words, if he had to choose between love and duty, he would choose love. Are we sure that he is wrong? Love is a fact; duty is a matter of opinion. Brutus chose duty, and we know that he chose wrong. Perhaps the lesson of the play lies in just that.

At any rate, the two passages just cited go a long way toward explaining the opprobrium attaching to Cassius. Near the beginning of the play we seem to be told by Cassius himself that he is a villain, and at the end we are very definitely told by Antony that he is. But the explanation is

not complete. After all, these two passages are overwhelmingly outweighed by the rest of the play. Why, then, should we be so prone to permit the notions inferred from them to color everything that Cassius says or does in the play? The final explanation will be found, I believe, in the normal attitude with which we approach literature. We do not apply the same standards to literature as we do to life. We are prone to mechanical classification of the personalities in literature to a far greater extent than of those in life. This fact is obvious in the case of the very young. The characters in bookdom are apt to line up as heroes or villains. But even in maturity we need to guard against the tendency. In life comparatively few of us would, for instance, confuse political act or opinion with character. But not so in literature. There the term conspirator, for example, would bear an unattractive connotation. A person to whom the title is attached runs the risk of being damned at the outset. His motives must be bad. In this way Cassius is damned, although there is not the slightest evidence that he has any selfish or otherwise dishonorable motives. He wants the conspiracy to succeed; that is all. To that end he seeks to enlist the best men he can reach—a Brutus, a Cicero —men who must inevitably cast him in the shade. But that does not matter to him. It is Brutus who objects to admitting men that might supersede him. Cassius is actuated by the same motives as actuate Flavius, and Marullus, and Brutus. There is really no problem here. The interests of his class are jeopardized, the political ideals that he and his ancestors have cherished are in danger of subversion, and he is so built that he cannot remain apathetic. That is all there is to it. His formation of the conspiracy does not make him out to be either a good man or a bad man. It has no bearing upon his moral make-up. That is revealed in other ways—and I have tried to show what it is. We may find that his standards are not as lofty as those of Brutus, that he is guided by expediency, that he does not scruple to resort to questionable means to bring about what he considers an honorable end, that he loves no plays, hears no music, and seldom smiles—but, when all is said and done, the very head and front of his offending has this extent—and no more.

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'SHAKESPEARE, MAN AND ARTIST'

By B. ROLAND LEWIS

AT last, seven years after his death, appears, from the Oxford University Press, the posthumous *magnum opus* of the late Rev. Edgar I. Fripp—his *Shakespeare, Man and Artist.** Here are two compendious volumes, totaling nearly a thousand pages, divided into one hundred and sixty-three topics (with many sub-topics—some of which are at times unrelated) literally choked with details and details—and with still more details until there is a veritable welter of *minutiae.* "My endeavour has been (and it is but an endeavour)", writes Mr. Fripp in his *Introduction,* "to see Shakespeare in his context—to study and interpret him in the light of his environment, geographical, domestic, social, religious, dramatic, literary." Here, arranged throughout in chronological order, with the several plays and poems injected at their proper places, is intended to be presented the sum-total background, the *milieu,* whose highly complex factors and potentialities gave birth both to William Shakspere as a personality and to his literary work. The whole has the tone of delightful reminiscence of the all but garrulous antiquarian whose adoration for his hero is almost dotage rather than the savor of the carefully trained and judicious scholar.

As one reads these two tomes, one gets the feeling that, on huge, long sheets of paper, supported on a corresponding upright wooden frame, Mr. Fripp had posted up before him in panorama for survey, *all* the details and *minutiae* of the entire complex context or background that obtained during Shakspere's lifetime; and, then, instead of sympathetically studying the entire in its essential significances and judiciously interpreting the context into a first-class biography, he proceeded to pack virtually *all* the details and *minutiae*—essential and unessential—into the two large volumes. Indeed, the work is, accordingly, uneven in quality and, as an organic whole, not sufficiently sustained in its intensity of interpretation to warrant recognition as a new and independent biography of the dramatist. Some-

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times page after page (II, Sec. 99) is largely mechanical recital of notes and facts from important original sources but with relatively little interpretation of them to compensate the reader's patience for having read them *in toto*. The work can attract only the specialist and the serious student; it is not for the general reader whose primary concern is "interesting" biography. Shakspere himself is all but lost sight of in the mass of details, much of which is too far out on the farthest periphera to throw much (if any) light upon the great poet. The many, many threads of context—domestic, social, political, religious, and what not—carried rather parallel throughout the two volumes tend, at times, to confuse the reader—even the trained specialist.

Students familiar with Mr. Fripp's previous volumes—*Minutes and Accounts of the Stratford-upon Avon Corporation* (1921), *Master Richard Quyny* (1924), *Shakespeare's Stratford* (1928), *Shakespeare's Haunts Near Stratford* (1929), *Shakespeare Studies* (1930)—detect immediately that this posthumous *Shakespeare, Man and Artist*—is not altogether a new and independent product. Very much of both facts and the phrasing of his several earlier volumes re-appear in the present book. Hobbies ridden there recur here. Obsessions and biases in his previous endeavors crop out here with equal persistence. And always Mr. Fripp is the Latinist, the ardent Anglican Churchman, the Bible moralist, the antiquarian. Accordingly, here, William Shakspere is again an "apprentice to a country lawyer" (Fripp holds that the plays can not be understood without this legal material), again the first-hand Latinist, again the favorite of the Inns of Court and of the royal Court, again the musician, etc. John Shakspere is again the militantly Puritan recusant and even an anti-papist (an obsession with Mr. Fripp) who was a much "marked man". John Shakspere's militant Puritanism, according to the author (I, p. 79) explains his sudden *"volte face"* in religious and Stratford Corporation affairs and also his probable financial (?) difficulties customarily accredited to the poet's father: "It was surrender to the enemy, whose menace was at their [Puritan and papists] door; and John Shakspere, incorrigible, prepared to meet the worst. The hedgehog curled up at the approach of the dog." Of course, it is

Fripp himself who is the Latinist, the non-Catholic or even the anti-Catholic, the devoted pro-Anglican Churchman who knows his Latin, his Bible, his Church history, etc., far more fully than do most men in his field. In his enthusiasm for his subject, he accords to John Shakspere and to William alike more than the facts can be made to justify. He comes dangerously near whitewashing both father and son.

Mr. Fripp is demonstrably (?) certain that both Shakspere and his work came definitely out of Stratford and Warwickshire—far less out of London—out of the Bible, Ovid, law, medicine, music, etc., all of which were not only the background and *milieu* of the dramatist but the essential Shakspere himself. According to Fripp, many, if not most, of Shakspere's plays were written *not* in London but rather in Stratford-upon-Avon—where he frequently stopped off on his company's return to London after a tour into the provinces. The plays were, thus, a definitely Warwicksire-Stratford product and not a London one where the dramatic activities of the Elizabethan period actually centered. Mr. Fripp holds: "Shakespeare did not take a comedy to London this autumn [1595], the usual accompaniment of a second tragedy [*Romeo and Juliet*], more tragic than its fellows" (I, p. 442). "He took [1599] with him, as a work of this summer, his fine tragedy, *Julius Caesar,* and the outline at least of his brilliant comedy, *Much Ado About Nothing"* (II, p. 507). Of *Hamlet,* Mr. Fripp asserts (II, p. 551), "Shakespeare studied it in the quiet of New Place, etc." From Oxford or Cambridge, we may believe, Shakespeare returned to Stratford—to write *Antony and Cleopatra"* (II, p. 673). Indeed, Shakspere was more at Stratford and New Place than in London;—usually "he went down to London for the Christmas season with, sometimes, a new play." Thus Mr. Fripp gives us a Stratford dramatist, not a London dramatist. However, he does qualify his position a bit by stating (II, p. 617) that *"Measure for Measure* is indeed London. Its thickly splashed mud is that of the metropolis—moral filth and falsehood, sots and "plague" and "angry apes." And (II, p. 655) he declares: "Never was a great work of art less in touch with its im-

mediate context, or more completely the expression of the artist, than *King Lear.*"

Shakspere, says Fripp, was essentially a home-loving Warwickshire-Stratford man who only gradually made his full connection with the theatre in London. Definitely, however, his going to London, if one is to accept Mr. Fripp's interpretation, was *via* the Earl of Leicester's men. He went not as an apprentice, for he was "too old for that", but he joined this troup as a "hired man in the company" (I, p. 211). All too confidently, the author asserts (I, p. 210): "It is more than enough that one day at Stratford, in the summer of 1587, the Earl of Leicester's famous 'jesting player' [Kemp] probably delighted and, in his turn, was taken quite with a 'well-shaped' youth of three and twenty, ... an old Latin-School boy, able to use his pen in a song or poem, in the revision of an old piece, writing of a new, ... to enter even as *Johannes Factotum,* the dramatic profession." Fripp asserts further (II, p. 570): "that Shakespeare was an actor as well as a dramatist, and *the producer of his plays* as well as a performer, becomes increasingly obvious as his work proceeds"—this statement under II, Sec. 104, entitled "Shakespeare, Player and *Manager.*" Scientific investigators have yet to find the documentary proof that Shakspere was ever a *manager* of his dramatic company or that he assumed the responsibility of producing his plays.

Such recurring phrases as "His Bible, *Metamorphoses,* old Law and new Medicine" (II, p. 722) and "Bible, Ovid, Law, Medicine are in evidence" (II, p. 709) appear as an almost veritable refrain throughout the two volumes. It is because of the supposedly preponderantly recurring legal terminology in the plays that Mr. Fripp holds that young Shakspere was "apprenticed to a country lawyer but he never became a barrister." Yet, from these same plays themselves, the author cites equally as much, at times, in support of Shaksper's supposed familiarity with medicine, school Latin, glove-making, hunting, and a half-dozen other topics. Again Mr. Fripp rides his biases: ""The legal element in the *Comedy of Errors* probably owes something to the revision of the play for performance at Gray's

Inn in 1594" (I, p. 318); "Falstaff (Oldcastle) was brought up on the Bible. No character in Shakespeare knows it better." (II, p. 489); "The play *As You Like It* is simply and broadly religious. Not dogmas and the creeds, but Sermon on the Mount, and the Parables, breathe through it" (II, p. 537); "Medicine is to the fore, with also the inevitable Law and Ovid", he declares (II, p. 743) of *Cymbeline,* and proceeds to cite from this play some thirty-five medical terms; "*Macbeth* is a magnificent morality on this text" (II, p. 747), "And therefore God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe lies," from *Thessalonians* II, 11; *Sonnet CIX*

> "Let me not to the marriage of true minds
> Admit impediments; love is not love, etc.,"

declares the author, is based on the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony from Queen Elizabeth's *Prayer Book* (1559), " as you will answer at the dreadful Day of Judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, that if either of you do know any impediment why ye may not be lawfully joined together in matrimony, that ye confess it." Typical of Mr. Fripp's predilection is this: "The Poet draws on his school-life, his father's shop, his youthful sports, his neighbors and their hospitalities, his law, his Ovid, his Bible and Metrical Psalms" (II, p. 554) in writing *Merry Wives of Windsor.*

In fact, to Mr. Fripp, most of Shakspere's plays were *topical,* often local, moral, and rather predominantly of Stratford and Warwickshire. Sometimes, he avers, the *milieu* is London and the Court. "Stratford again is very much to the fore," he declares (I, p. 141) of *The Taming of the Shrew.* "The fresh air of his loved Warwickshire blows through his work, scattering the clouds and the poison, and bringing health to diseased or sophisticated minds," he says (II, p. 736) of *Cymbeline.* Still more specifically: Holofernes, in *Love's Labour's Lost,* is definitely (I, p. 360) Alexander Aspinall—with the textual play on the "Ass"—the Stratford schoolmaster and not John Florio, not George Chapman. The *Sonnets* are definitely of the Court, of London, of Southampton,—but the "Dark Lady" is but a modern fiction and she does not appear so

identified in the original. Moreover, the "Dark Lady" is an impossible combination of many kinds of women and of varied experiences with life: "she is of the tavern, of the kitchen, of the drawing-room." *Love's Labour's Lost,* to Mr. Fripp (I, p. 349) is an amazing example of Shakspere's utilizing his first-hand topical knowledge of local history in France, the Court of Elizabeth, contemporary published materials like those of John Lyly, current sonneteering, Elizabeth's personal conduct on occasions, published Court letters, local Stratford happenings, etc., etc., law, music, Ovid, Bible, and what not. Says he (II, p. 748): "Imogen and her royal brothers, Florizel and Perdita, Ferdinand and Miranda, cannot be dissociated from Henry and Elizabeth [son and daughter to James I] and their much-talked-of marriages." For the composition of *The Tempest,* Shakspere (II, p. 751) "read at least three of them [contemporary published accounts of the disaster to the Virginia fleet in July, 1609], and made use of them in his drama." And (II,p. 580) *"Troilus and Cressida* stands alone among Shakespeare's plays as a piece of scornful irony. . . . It holds up to mockery, in the spirit of Swift and Hogarth rather than Cervantes, the unreal ideals of the prevailing Medievo-Renaissance chivalry. Hence its association with the battles of the theatres. Without personalities it carries the war to the heart of the classical camp." Even the callous plucking out of Gloucester's eyes, says Mr. Fripp, was in keeping with two passages from the Bible currently very much in the mood of Puritanism: (1) *Matthew* V, 28, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart; wherefore if thy right eye cause thee to offend, pluck it out an dcast it from thee," and (2) *Leviticus* XX, 10, "The adulterer and the adulteress shall die." Again these several passages savour rather of the loyal Churchman Fripp than William Shakspere.

If Shakspere was, as Mr. Fripp subtly emphasizes, "Man and *Artist,"* it may be well to consider that with mere moralizing, great art has *nothing* to do; but with that which is fundamentally moral in the universe, great art has *everything to do!*

Mr. Fripp makes Shakspere so essentially an organic part

of Stratford that almost every time a neighbor's child is born and christened William, the poet himself probably stood as god-father. Shakspere, too, holds (I, p. 373) the author was more than a Latinist: he "knew some Greek and may have read the original [Marianus' *Cupid's Torch* of the fifth century, which Shakspere turned into Sonnets 153, 154] in *Anthologica Graeca,* 1566, (IV, 63)." Even "'The only begetter' of the *Sonnets* is the writer's fantastic style (with an execrable *pun* on *John* I, 14, "the only begetter"), and no doubt means the 'getter' or 'procurer' of the manuscript" (II, p. 715). Again it is Fripp the antiquarian, Latinist, and Churchman, speaking in terms of his own enthusiasm for his hero. And where he declares (II, p. 561), "The Poet dislikes him [Malvolio], as he dislikes Jaques, and allows him as he allows Jaques, to take himself off," it is tantamount to saying that it is Mr. Fripp himself who instinctively dislikes Malvolio and Jaques.

With all his vast wealth of accumulated antiquarian detail and historical lore, most of which may prove valuable to the future historian and biographer, Mr. Fripp, now and then, steps over into fields where his hand is less deft and where his knowledge is far less reliable and something incomplete. In his attempted reconstruction (I, Sec. 58) of the orthography, pronunciation, and phrasing of what to him was the original text, the result approaches the ludicrous—and it would do credit only to an Elizabethan spelling and phrase bungler like young William Henry Ireland in (say) his forged Shakspere's *Death-bed Farewell Letter* (Douce *MS. e.* 8, Bodleian). When the dramatist purchased New Place in 1597, opines the author, "Hither, with a just sense of attainment, ... the Poet brought his family and his "volumes prized above a dukedom," so well-read and so possessed of his own library was the poet. The Droeshout portrait (II, p. 726) is genuine—and Martin Droeshut made his cut from it for the First Folio. Shakspere, declares the author, played in *The Seven Deadly Sins* (II, p. 712): "Christopher Beeston and Robert Pallant, whom we saw performing with Shakespeare in *The Seven Deadly Sins* in 1592." The stage "plot," at least, of *The Seven Deadly Sins,* belonging to the year 1592, does

not contain the poet's name. Mr. Fripp holds, too, that the dramatist "Shakespeare did not smoke—he never mentions pipe or tobacco" (I, p. 238). By this same token, he never used soap for there are those who assert that he never mentions this article. He holds, also, that the coat-of-arms "applied for in 1576" was "doubtless that" granted in 1596 and "confirmed" in 1599. Indeed the 1599 coat-of-arms document is an ordinary impalement (with nothing unusual and nothing irregular about it) of the Arden arms on the Shakspere Coat and in no sense a mere "confirmation." He reiterates (II, p. 827) the fallacious "She [Anne Hathaway, his wife] was entitled to a Widow's Dower, etc.", and that she was entitled to her one-third of her husband's estate, etc. Legal scholars now know that such a one-third dower right—as Sir Edward Coke held, "never was the general law, but only obtained in particular places by special custom"—those particular places, in Shakspere's day, were "the province of York, the principality of Wales, and in the City of London [the London County Council district]." Critical examination of hundreds of English wills from 900 to 1620, a goodly number of which were executed by Shakspere's own Stratford contemporaries, shows that any such one-third dower devise to a wife is very rarely present in those documents. Nor did the probating court make any corresponding adjustment in favor of the wife when the wills were probated. William Shakspere's will was perfectly legal, it had no irregularities in it, and Anne Hathaway, his wife, may have been, from a sentimental point of view, *un*-inherited, but she was in no wise *dis*-inherited. Ann Hathaway, neither by common law, nor by statute, was legally entitled to one-third dower. However, Mr. Fripp is correct when he asserts about the oft-cited irregularities of Shakspere's marriage that "The irregularities do not exist" (I, p. 187, foot-note). With such documentary items as Shakspere's deeds, mortgages, Belott-Mountjoy suit, Bills of Complaint, will, etc., etc., Mr. Fripp shows less critical acquaintance than with materials of a more historical and religious nature. As an antiquarian in the religious history of Shakspere's Warwickshire and Stratford, the Rev. Edgar I. Fripp has no equal.

All Mr. Fripp's biases, hobbies, obsessions, personal pre-

dilections, and individual qualifications—and he does, in his way, have masterly qualifications—aside, *Shakespeare, Man and Artist* is a reliable storehouse of invaluable antiquarian lore and critical historical fact. The two volumes are *per se,* not a final biography of the dramatist; not a sum-total and final epitome of critical estimate of his work. The work is exactly what the author, in his *Introduction,* said it is: "the context," the background, the *milieu* which produced both the man Shakspere and his plays. Its lasting value will not be its critical worth nor its biographical interpretation of Shakspere. Rather its permanent significance will be its value as a *source-book* for the future interpreter and biographer. As such, to date, it is an epochal work. As such, it is its own excuse for being. No Shaksperian library and no Shaksperian scholar will fail to have these two volumes on his shelves ready at his elbow.

The genial and competent Frederick C. Wellstood, Esq., of the Birthplace Museum, as a labor of love for his life-long friend, saw this posthumous work through the press.

B. Roland Lewis.

From The Shakespeare Laboratory,
The University of Utah.

"RED WINE AND RENNISH"

By DANIEL C. BOUGHNER

> *Sal.* There is more difference betweene thy flesh and hers, then betweene Iet and Iuorie, more between your bloods, then there is betweene red wine and rennish.
>
> *The Merchant of Venice,* III, i, 35-37.

TO the modern reader this is so obviously a color distinction that neither the Furness Variorum nor any of the editions consulted bothers to comment on the passage,[1] except to make clear that in hue Rhenish was white[2] or light yellowish.[3] Did it connote something more to the Elizabethans?

In the first place, Rhenish and other white wines differed from red wines in alcoholic strength. The weak white Rhenish, it is true, found a certain favor with all classes: idle gallants drank it;[4] Greene's death resulted from a "fatall banquet of Rhenish wine and pickled hearing";[5] Will Summer, in *Summer's Last Will and Testament,* slaked his thirst with "a rundlet of Renish wine";[6] the diet of a well-to-do bachelor in 1589 contained Rhenish; and Henry VIII relished it. Its low alcoholic content led social reformers especially to esteem it. Thus Andrew Boorde, who abstained from water on the one hand and strong wines on the other, declared that white wines, among them Rhenish, were good for all men.[9] This preference, however, clearly ran counter to the prevailing taste of the age,

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[1]The distinction between jet and ivory does concern the present writer.

[2]*The Merchant of Venice,* ed. by Charlotte A. Porter and Helen A. Clarke, New York, 1903.

[3]*The Merchant of Venice,* ed. by A. W. Verity, The Pitt Press Shakespeare, Cambridge, 1901.

[4]Thomas Nashe, *Works,* ed. McKerrow, 5 vols., London, 1910, I, 208.

[5]*Ibid.,* I, 287-88. Samuel Rowlands notes the death of a gallant who feasted on "Oysters and Braue Rennish Wine." *Works,* Hunterian Club, 3 vols., 1880, I, "Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine," p. 79.

[6]Nashe, *op. cit.,* III, 246. Will Summer was no drunkard: *cf.* III, 267.

[7]*Shakespeare's England,* ed. Sidney Lee, 2 vols., Oxford, 1917, II, 134 ff.

[8]J. S. Forsyth, *The Antiquary's Portfolio,* 2 vols., London, 1825, I, 195. Claudius thus had a royal precedent for his addiction to Rhenish. (*Hamlet,* I. iv. 10).

[9]Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge,* ed. Furnivall, EETS, Extra Series, No. X, 1780, p. 75.

for although white wines were in great demand, the stronger the drink, the more it was desired.[10] Moralists praised cider and perry likewise, because no human stomach could hold enough of them to make its owner really drunk.[11] And indeed, these liquors resembled Rhenish in more ways than in alcoholic content, for Nashe sighed over the amount of cider in Rhenish wine in his day,[12] and John Taylor, the water-poet, boasted that the addition of sugar to cider gave to the men of Gloucestershire a drink that they "may without blushing . . . parallel . . . with the glory of the Rhine"![13]

Red wine, on the other hand, had established a reputation for excellence at least as early as Chaucer's time: Skeat notes that "the red wine of Gascony, sometimes called 'Mountrose', was deemed a liquor for a lord";[14] and bibulous passages in Chaucer frequently set the white against the "strong wyn, reed as blood."[15] The quality of the two, therefore, differed in respect to their potency, and the superiority clearly lay with the red wine in an age when a beverage was prized in direct proportion to its alcoholic strength.[16]

In the second place, Rhenish and other white wines differed from red in their physical properties and physiological virtues. White wine was less hot, "less fumish and less vapourous . . ., and therefore less anoyeth the heade" than other wines;[17] and indeed, the physician, William Turner, recommended Rhenish to those disposed to headache.[18] It promoted diuresis. It was good for those who wanted to be slender—"because it nourisheth little." Cogan regarded it as the best wine for students.[19] It was the best wine to

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[10]William Harrison, *Description of Britaine and England* in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 1587, ed. Furnivall for the New Shakespeare Society, 1877-78, II, 149.

[11]R. F. Bretherton in *Englishmen at Rest and Play*, ed. Reginald Lennard, Oxford, 1931, p. 172.

[12]Nashe, *op. cit.*, II, 210.

[13]Taylor, *Drinke and Welcome*, in *Works*, the Spenser Society, No. 14, II, 1873, p. 4.

[14]W. W. Skeat, in his ed. of Chaucer, *Works*, 6 vols., Oxford, 1894, IV, 271.

[15]*Canterbury Tales*, A. 635.

[16]See above, n. 10.

[17]Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health*, London, 1589, p. 214.

[18]Turner, *A new boke of the natures of all wines*, in *An English Garner*, ed. Arber, II, 187, p. 113.

[19]Cogan, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 216.

take on an empty stomach[20] and to drink at meals.[21] Unlike common claret, Rhenish was usually at least a year old before it was used, and if drunk before that time, it was commonly racked. For these two reasons it "has fewer dregs and less terresity or gross earthliness than the Claret wine hath, and therefore breedeth the stone less." Clarets were "of grosser and thicker substance, and hotter of complexion than white Rhenish wine and white French wine be of: therefore they breed the stone more than the latter do."[22] White wine was widely used to wash wounds and to make lotions for the face.[23] Lodge records the use of white wine or "pure malmoisie" in a preparation designed as a preventive of the plague.[24] Rhenish wine was credited with excellent laxative properties.[25] To cure melancholy, Burton says, "the thinnest, whitest, smallest Wine is best, not thick, nor strong."[26] Of wine in general, and white wine in particular, Boorde sang the praises in lines that suggest Falstaff's eulogy of sack:

> it doth actuate and doth quycken a mans wyttes, it doth comfort the hert, it doth scowre the lyuer; specyally, yf it be whyte wyn, it doth reioyce all the powers of man, and doth nowrysshe them; it doth ingender good blode, it doth comforte and doth nourysshe the brayne and all the body, and it resolueth fleume; it ingendreth heate, and it is good agaynst heuynes and pencyfulnes; it is ful of agylyte; wherfore it is medsonable, specyally whyte wyne, for it doth mundyfye and clense woundes & sores. Furthermore, the better the wyne is, the better humours it doth ingender.[27]

Red wine was to a greater degree than white "whote & drye to tast, fele, & see."[28] Unlike white wine, "red and sowrish wines" were good "to bind the body" and "to stop the Flux of the body."[29] Red wine and claret nourished more than white wine "because they are soone conuerted into bloud: and especially the redde, for that is hotter than

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[21]Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[22]Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[23]Nashe, *op. cit.*, I, 327 and III, 268; *cf.* McKerrow's note in IV, 193.

[24]Thomas Lodge, *Complete Works, Hunterian Club,* 4 vols., 1883, IV, *A Treatise of the Plague,* p. 24.

[25]Thomas Middleton, *Works,* ed. Dyce, 5 vols., London, 1840, I, 468. *Cf.* Cogan, *op cit.*, p. 215.

[26]Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* ed. Dell and Jordan-Smith, New York, 1927, p. 397.

[27]Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[28]*Early English Meals and Manners,* ed. Furnivall, EETS, Original Series, No. 32, London, 1868, p. 10.

white wine, and nourisheth more than claret."[30] This superiority of red wine was a notion of wide currency: Professor Tilley quotes Bartholomew Anglicus to the effect that "(red) wine turneth soon to blood because of likeness that it hath with blood in liquor, savour, and colour."[31]

In the third place, such a remark in the mouth of a man like Salarino was probably meant as praise for red wine and disdain for Rhenish. A good way to insult a man was to sneer at his taste in liquor, and this was the way Nashe chose to disparage Harvey: Gabriel, without the capacity to maintain his part in their quarrel, "hopeth by the intercession of a cuppe of white wine and sugar, to be made friends with his fellow writers." He continues, "It cannot choose but he must of necessitie be a very sore fellow, that is so familiar with white wine & sugar, for white wine, in a maner, is good for nothing but to wash sores in, and smudge vp withered beauty with."[32] Weak white wine, thus held in scorn by the hardened drinkers of the day,[33] would lend itself readily to the vocabulary of the contempt of a gay young blade like Salarino.[34]

To summarize the evidence, a white wine like Rhenish possessed some commendable properties, but red wine was superior to it in alcoholic strength and in the important physiological power of generating blood, and it was favored above Rhenish by the experienced drinker. Such points, moreover, would in all likelihood have been uppermost in the mind of a man of Salarino's nature into whose hands Shylock had adventured on this occasion. These considerations make it seem probable that Shakspere has here employed a chiastic construction, equating the red wine with

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[29]Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary,* London, 1617, Part Three, p. 22.

[30]Cogan, *op. cit.,* p. 214. For the common belief that drinking wine restored blood, see M. P. Tilley, *Good Drink Makes Good Blood, M.L.N.,* XXXIX, 153 ff. *Cf.* P. Ansell Robin, *The Old Physiology in English Literature,* London, 1911, pp. 107-08.

[31]Tilley, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

[32]Nashe, *op. cit.,* I, 327. For the medicinal uses referred to, see above.

[33]In this connection, *cf.* the gibe of Salarino's companion Solanio at the notion that such thin old blood as Shylock's should rebel. (*The Merchant of Venice,* III, i. i. 32-33).

[34]For an account of the Elizabethan and Jacobean gallant, see the present writer's forthcoming article, *"The Drinking Academy and Contemporary London."*

Jessica and Rhenish with Shylock. This chiasmus would have been readily intelligible in the pit because to the London playgoers this distinction was doubtless a commonplace. The antithesis, therefore, is not solely or primarily that of color, but draws a sharp contrast between the rich red blood of the young Jessica and the thin feeble blood of her father.

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"Even Shakspere, who so suffuses current letters and art (which indeed have in most degrees grown out of him), belongs essentially to the buried past. Only he holds the proud distinction for certain important phases of that past, of being the loftiest of the singers life has yet given voice to. All, however, relate to the rest upon conditions, standards, politics, sociologies, ranges of belief, that have been quite eliminated from the Eastern hemisphere, and never existed at all in the Western. As authoritative types of song they belong in America just about as much as the persons and institutes they depict. True, it may be said, the emotional, moral, and æsthetic natures of humanity have not radically changed—that in these the old poems apply to our times and all times irrespective of date; and that they are of incalculable value as pictures of the past. I willingly make those admissions, and to their fullest extent; then advance the points herewith as of serious, even paramount importance."—*Walt Whitman.*

A NOTE ON *THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH*

By H. E. McCain

IN *II Henry IV* occurs a passage (I, ii, 39-55) which is quite evidently significant of certain economic changes which were occurring during Shakspere's lifetime, and to which apparently Falstaff did not take kindly. The matter relates to the giving of security. By the time Shakspere came to write *II Henry IV* the word "security" had acquired a variety of meanings, among which were three which seem to be pertinent to the understanding of the passage referred to. The first of these meanings was (*NED,* sense 2): "Freedom from doubt, confidence, assurance. Now chiefly, well founded confidence, certainly. 1597." The second of these was (*NED,* sense 3): "Freedom from care, anxiety or apprehension; a feeling of freedom from or absence of danger. *arch.* Formerly often *spec.* (now only *contextually*) culpable absence of anxiety, carelessness. 1555." The third meaning, was in general (*NED,* sense 8): 'Property deposited or made over, or bonds, recognizances, or the like entered into, by or on behalf of a person in order to secure his fulfilment of an obligation, and forfeitable in the event of non-fulfilment; a pledge, caution;" and, in particular, (*NED,* sense 8, b) "as securing the payment of a debt. 1576." In the latter part of this passage, Shakspere plays upon all three meanings. Falstaff says (ll. 51-55):

> Well, he may sleep in security, for he hath the horn of abundance, and the lightness of his wife shines through it; and yet cannot he see, though he have his own lanthorn to light him.[1]

Here the play involves master Dommelton's "confidence" in the faithfulness of his wife, the suggestion that he shall have enough bonds to bed himself upon, and finally the notion that his complacence involves a "culpable absence of anxiety" concerning his reputation. The purpose of this

[1]Reference is to *The Complete Works of Shakespeare,* G. L. Kittredge, ed., New York, 1936.

note, however, is to deal more specifically with the expression "sleep in security" and its special significance in the context in which it stands.[2]

In a sermon composed sometime between 1576 and 1585[3] Archbishop Sandys wrote:

> Arise at length, arise from sin, and redeem the time past and lost. We have long, yea too, too long slumbered; it is now more than high time to arise, to arise from sleep of error, or sin and of security.
>
> Many are fallen asleep in the blind errors of man's doctrine: many are yet drowned in the dregs of popery, preferring dreams, fancies, lies and fables, before the heavenly doctrine of God's everlasting truth. The cause of this their blindness is ignorance of the scriptures: the cause of their ignorance is the hardness of their hearts. They neither know, they are so ignorant; nor will know, they are so stubborn. When they are exhorted to read, they close their eyes; when to hear, they shut their ears; when to come, they draw back their feet. If the sun shine never so bright, they see it not . . .[4]

Thus he who sleeps in security suffers a kind of blindness which is due to ignorance and stubbornness and he shuts his eyes to the sunshine of truth though it be "never so bright." Sandys then, quotating authorities, continues his argument that man should be wakeful and watchful against temptation, and at length says:

> Men are commonly nearest unto peril, both corporal and spiritual, when their minds are furthest from thinking of preventing it. It is written of the people which were in Laish, that because they had no business with anybody, nor any body with them, no man raised any tumult, or usurped any dominion in their land, and the place which they inhabited was good and lacked nothing, therefore they dwelt careless, quiet and sure. Which when the spials sent forth from the children of Dan and once perceived, they made no doubt of conquering the land, but encourgaed their brethren and set them forward: "Be not slothful to go and enter tto possess the land. If ye will go, ye shall come unto a careless people: the country is large: surely God hath given it into your hands." (*Judg.* xviii, 9,

[2]While Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon* does not cite any instance in which *security* means a "culpapble absence of anxiety," the other senses noted above are given. Also Schmidt records many instances in which the verb *sleep* denotes "any state of entire repose and quiet, or of idleness and inefficacy."

[3]*The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D.*, edited by Rev. John Ayre, *The Parker Society*, Cambridge, 1842, pp. xxi, xxii. The sermon was delivered at York and published in 1585. See title page facing xxxii.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 208.

> 10.) They went up, being only six hundred men, came to Laish, found the people without all mistrust of danger, put them to the sword, and burnt up their city. Their peace bred plenty; their plenty, security; their security, their destruction. . . . Watch therefore, and sleep not in security. Blessed is he that watcheth.[5]

The remainder of the sermon is given to urging man to put on the armour of light." He says:

> Let them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, sleep on. But unto us "the night is past." Night in the scriptures is taken for ignorance, the times whereof are now past. The day-star is risen, and hath appeared unto us. Christ, the true light, is come into the world: he that now will walk in darkness is not blind but wilful, and runneth with open eyes to his own damnation. If the light had not come into the world, "if I had not spoken unto them," saith Christ, "they might have pleaded ignorance:" but I have told them the truth . . . (John xv. 22.) . . . "If our gospel be hid it is from them that perish, whom the god," or rather the devil, "of this world hath blinded (2 Cor. iv. 4.) We are in the light: the way of truth lieth plain and open before our faces. Let not us walk now as the children of darkness. For darkness and the night are past.[6]

Though Archbishop Sandys published his sermons in 1585 in London, there is no occasion to venture the thought that Shakspere had in mind, or even knew of, this sermon. It is intended in presenting the above merely to indicate what was in the air and to suggest what connotations the words "sleep in security" may have had for Elizabethan ears. It seems safe to say that the expression was of religious or ecclestical origin, and, reverently conceived, referred to a kind of spiritual blindness, which had its ultimate source in the hardness of man's heart. It was the peculiar affliction of those who had acquired great abundance, and the security which such people came to feel in their plenty, brought upon them destruction. Those who slept in security were in darkness and could not see the light because "the god of this world hath blinded" them.

It appears that Shakspere has utilized all these connotations as convenient hinges upon which to hang his puns and word-plays. Though Faltaff deals irreverently with

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[5]*Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.
[6]*Ibid.*, p. 212.

this allusion to the spiritual life, it becomes clear when the nature of the allusion is examined why the horn of abundance is associated with sleeping in security, and why Master Dommelton is blind to the lightness of his wife. At the same time the use of the allusion permitted him once more to drag in the ancient play on the cuckold.

> Falstaff is here playing with the ancient jest that deceived husbands wear invisible horns. Lightness is obviously used in a double sense, and the old spelling of lanthorn, which emphasizes the horn sides of an Elizabethan lantern, carries out the jest.[7]

Thus Falstaff's wit here is no "single sol'd jest, solely singular for the singleness." It is stout and double-edged. This husband could not see the horns, not only because they were invisible but also because, sleeping in security, he could not perceive the light.

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[7] *The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, Samuel B. Hemingway, ed., New Haven, 1921. Note on I, ii, 51-54. One wonders, by the way, just how the "old spelling helped an actor to carry out the jest.

JOHN HEYWOOD AND RICHARD STONLEY

By K. W. CAMERON

ANOTHER friend of John Heywood, maker of interludes, has just come to light in an inscription on the flyleaf of a presentation copy of Heywood's *Works* (ed. 1), London, 1562, in the Yale University Library. This volume, bearing the catalogue number 1f, H51, a562, reveals the following evidence of early ownership: "liber Ric. Stonley, ex dono Iohis Hayw . . ." (margin trimmed). It would seem that Heywood presented the book to Stonley between the date of publication (1562) and the date of his escape from England (July 20, 1564). It is probable, moreover, that the owner was not Richard Stonlye, husbandman of Hatton, Worcestershire, who died in 1569, or the Richard Stonley of Crick, who died between 1578 and 1589, whose will is listed in the calendar of Northamptonshire and Rutland. The most likely candidate is Richard Stonley (or Stondley), one of the four Tellers of the Exchequer, who was granted his office for life a few months before the accession of Queen Mary.

Apparently this Stonley was born in 1520, the birth year of Cecil, later Baron Burghley. He became a Teller of the Exchequer on Feb. 4, 1553, and, like Burghley, held office continuously under Mary and Elizabeth. In 1559 he prepared a report of the names of the Queen's household who had failed to pay the late subsidy. In it he revealed that the "musicians of all classes" were the chief defaulters. In August (?), 1560, he rendered an opinion on the valuation of base money current in England and proposed a plan for converting it into legitimate sterling. On Sept. 8, 1561, he wrote Sir Thomas Challoner, who was about to leave England as ambassador to Seville, asking his help, while in Spain, in the recovery of money owed to Mrs. Stonley. The success of this agent was the occasion for a letter of thanks to him on October 12 of the year in which Heywood's *Works* appeared. It was signed "From London Leasureless."

As a permanent teller, Stonley seems to have had the chief responsibility in his office. He handled large sums

of money, foreclosed on property, received the proceeds of confiscations, lent money to officials like Sir Thomas Gresham, and paid stipends. By June 27, 1580, however, he began to meet with a series of reverses, because, in a statement of that date, he emphasized the personal losses and the hindrances he had sustained at his post during his 27 years of service. On August 4, 1585, Lord Burghley reported on Stonley's financial predicament and expressed regret that he was "now in case to beg in his old days, being 65 years of age." Exactly one year later Stonley's books showed a shortage of £16,000. This led, doubtless, to the confiscation of most of his property by the Queen on June 8, 1597, to apply on the large debt adjudged against him by the Exchequer court. His wife, Anne, seems to have died before the end of the century. He died in London on Feb. 19, 1600, leaving two daughters: (1) Dorothy Dawtrey, a widow, "aged 40 or more," and (2) Anne, wife of William Heigham, "aged 36 or more."

What can be learned of Stonley's youth? Was he trained in court circles? How and why did he, at the age of 23, secure the life appointment in the Exchequer? An answer to these questions might throw light on his relationship with Heywood, who was 23 years his senior. Stonley might have been a pupil or one of the singing boys during Heywood's first period of court favor. An examination of court papers with this in view might prove fruitful. Whatever the background may be, Heywood doubtless had occasional contacts with the Exchequer concerning property matters, and could hardly escape knowing the chief teller.

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COMMUNICATION

EDITOR OF THE BULLETIN.

Sir:

PROFESSOR TUCKER BROOKE, to whom I am much obliged for his kind words regarding my volume on Elizabethan Fustian, has appended to his remarks certain strictures concerning what I have stated to be the Elizabethan meaning of the term "fustian." The *ex cathedra* method of flat contradiction is much in vogue in these totalitarian days, but should it be employed by scholars? The fact that the term "fustian drama" has passed out of current usage seems to dispose some persons against the recognition of a 16th century usage which is now obsolete. A candid presentation of the evidence for the Elizabethan meaning of the term "fustian" is herewith respectfully submitted:

The Oxford *Dictionary* gives the following meanings of the noun "fustian": "Inflated, turgid, or inappropriately lofty language; speech or writing composed of high-sounding words and phrases; bombast, rant; *in early use also argon, make-up language, gibberish.*" (The italics are mine.) Of the adjective 'fustian', it gives the following meaning and states that it is now obsolete; *"Made-up, imaginary."*

In my book entitled *Elizabethan Fustian* I defined the term "fustian" in my own words as follows: "Any jargon or made-up language for which a gloss was required." I then gave several instances from Elizabethan literature in which the word was used in this sense. Several of these instances are also given in the *N. E. D.* Specifically, I cited the following:

1. When in *Doctor Faustus,* Wagner begins to spout Latin to the clown, who does not understand, the latter exclaims, "God forgive me, he speaks Dutch Fustian."

2. When in *Everyman Out of His Humour,* Orange and Clove (who, Cordatus tells us, "are mere strangers to the

whole scope of our play") see that they are observed, Clove says, "Monsieur Orange, yon gallants observe us: prithee let's talk fustian a little and gull them." That is, he will speak in the esoteric language of scholars which none will understand, but which will lead the hearers to "believe that they are great scholars."

3. When Marston, in the *Scourge of Villany,* denounces this habit of esotericism in contemporary literature, he declares that many use the fustian device out of mere fashion, even when they have nothing to hide.

> This affectation
> To speak beyond men's apprehension,
> How apish it is! When all in fustian suit
> Is clothed a huge nothing, all for repute
> Of profound knowledge, when profoundness knows
> There's nought contained, but only seeming shows.

This affectation to speak beyond men's apprehension, whether by a jargon, or a made-up language, or by symbols, or by "seeming shows," was in Elizabethan times, as is obvious from these illustrations, labeled 'fustian." Some readers recall the "fustian riddle" of M. O. A. I. with which Maria teased Malvolio so outrageously. That is a case where the fustian riddle is still beyond our apprehension.

The Oxford *Dictionary* throws additional light upon the early meaning of the word 'fustian' by offering as a synonym for it the word 'gibberish' in its early but now obsolete sense of "unintelligible, unmeaning." This authority cites two passages from Florio to show that both 'fustian' and 'gibberish' signified, in the 16th century, an arbitary linguistic disguise. Florio defined *monelle* as a "roguish or fustian word, a word in pedler's French, signifying wenches." He defines *balchi* as "a roguish or gibberish word used for money." Gibberish, like fustian, was, according to the *N. E. D.,* any unintelligible speech "supposed to be of arbitrary invention." This arbitrary invention may, of course, be anything from a patois to a literary fiction. The instances which the *N. E. D.* gives to illustrate this usage are too many to quote here. I must, however, present one or two:

1. Jonson, in the *Alchemist,* IV, ii, says: "Have 'hem up and shew 'hem some fustian booke or the dark glasse."

2. In the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels,* the "third child" declares: "The title of this play is Cynthia's Revels . . . the scene Gargaphie, which I do vehemently suspect for some fustian country."

This last instance, as I have stated in my book, offers the best illustration of the sense in which I have used the term 'fustian'. Just as Gargaphie was a fustian country disguising Elizabethan England, so was Cynthia a fustian character standing for the Queen, and Acteon was a fustian name for Essex.

I hope that my purpose in making this further statement in reply to Professor Tucker Brooke may be construed by him as well as by other scholars as "the sane and gracious one of showing what should be believed rather than what might be imagined" concerning the Elizabethan use of the term 'fustian.'

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SHAKSPERE'S VERSE

Prepared for students by

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

1. Iambic Pentameter (rising rhythm, 5 feet, unstressed followed by stressed syllable)
   "I think / it be / no oth/er but / e'en so"

   Modifications: a) Trochaic feet (stressed syllable followed by unstressed) in first foot of verse or after cæsura
   "Doom'd for / a cer/tain term / to walk / the night"
   "Comes arm/ed through / our watch, /- *so like* / the king"

   b) Anapestic feet (2 unstressed followed by a stressed)
   "Had made / his course / *to illume* / that part / of heav'n"

   c) Spondaic feet (2 stressed sylllables)
   "Peace! Break / thee off! / Look, where / it comes / again!"

   d) Pyrrhic feet (2 unaccented syllables)
   "With us / to watch / the min/*utes of* / this night"

2. Trochaic measure (falling rhythm; in songs and speech of supernatural characters)
   "When the / hurly / burly's / done"
   "Those are / pearls that / were his / eyes"
   "Why should / this a / desert / be?"

3. Varied length of verses: monometer ("Indeed!"); dimeter ("Alas, he's mad!"); trimeter ("And kill him in the shell!"); tetrameter ("Certain, men should be what they seem!"); hexameter ("A worth/y pi/oner! / Once more / remove, / good friends"); fourteeners ("When in / the why / and the / wherefore / is nei/ther rhyme / nor reason").

4. Word modifications for metrical purposes:
   a) Contractions: e'en, ta'en, where (whether), 'fore, 'gainst, 'scape, near (nearer), med'cine, beautious, gent'man, sev'n, or (other), o'er, i'th' (in the), sp'rit (spreet), o'th' (on the), by th' (by the), t'us, he'll, This' (This is), ha's (he has).
   b) Expansions: hour (ou-er), fire (fai-er), moon's (moon-es) month's (month-es), year (yee-er), natiön, jeal-i-ous, oceän (o-she-an), banishéd, (cap(i)tain, sessiön, rememb(e)rance
   c) Altered stress: aspéct, exíle, canónize, persév'er, revénue, súbdue, cómplete, accéss, madám, Dunsínane, Mílan.

   (Normal end-stopped verse: "Oh that / this too / too sol/id flesh / would melt!")

5. Enjambment (run-on lines, unstopped):
   "And there / did seem / in him / a kind / of joy
   "To hear / of it. / They are / about the / court."

6. Feminine lines (with "double endings"; one or two light syllables at the end of the verse or before the cæsura):

"I think / it was / to see / my moth/er's wed*ding.*"
And with / him are / the Lord / Aumerle, / Lord Sal/*isbury.*

7. Light and weak endings (in enjambed lines only, pronouns, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions, prepositions):

"I do / not much / dislike / the mat/ter *but*
"The man/ner of / his speech,"
"He gives / me as / much of / mine own / as *I*
Will kneel / to him / with thanks."
"Do not / abuse / my mas/ter's boun/ty *by*
Th' undo/ing of / yourself."

8. Short-line speech ending:

"These hands / are not / more like. /
Hamlet. But where / was this?"

9. Incomplete foot:

"Forward, /not per/manent, /- *sweet,* / not last(ing)"

——o——

Masculine rime (single syllable):

"The time / is out / of joint / Oh curs/ëd *spite,*
That ev/er I / was born / to set / it *right!*"

Feminine (double) rime:

"Thoughts black, / hands apt, / drugs fit, / and time / a*gree*(*ing*)
Confed'/rate sea/son, else / no crea/ture *see*(*ing*)

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

TO BE OR NOT TO BE

Unless our memory is serving us a shabby trick, the suggestion has been made several times that Hamlet's best-known soliloquy, that with which his name is so indissolubly linked that the moment one thinks of him one also thinks of it, and *vice versa,* is not an integral part of the play, is an interpolation (by Shakspere, fortunately), is out of character, and unnecessarily halts the action. The main reasons for this viewpoint are the facts—so it is alleged—that the religious philosophy of the soliloquy is inconsistent with Hamlet's expressed views in other parts of the play, and that Hamlet is now complaining of wrongs from which he seems not to have suffered, as, for example, the law's delay, the insolence of office, the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes, and the pangs of disprized love. Here, say these "disintegrators," Shakspere forgot that he was a dramatist and made Hamlet at this most inappropriate time (when he should have been thinking only of the success of his mousetrap) give expression to the woes of disgruntled middle-class humanity. They even go so far as to suggest that Shakspere had these melancholy reflections, this indictment of humanity, in one of his note-books; not knowing what to do with it, and realizing that it harmonized with Hamlet's mood, he stuck it into this play. Why he inserted it into a play which was already too long by many hundred lines, and into a part of a play where its presence would be regarded as a tasteless intrusion, these learned and watchful critics do not say. Shakspere, we think, would surely have been the first to feel any inappropriateness in the speech and to have refrained from introducing so inharmonious an element into his pet offspring; and we can't imagine Burbage (or Lowin?) complaining of not having a fat enough part. Shakspere could have waited till he was writing *Timon* or *Lear.*

The woes Hamlet enumerates are not irrelevant to him. The "thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to" is perfectly in keeping with a pessimistic philosopher who naturally exaggerates his wrongs, grievances, and humiliations. Hamlet has been so thoroughly disillusioned—to him the whole world is an "unweeded garden that grows to seed," things rank and gross possess it merely"—that in him the "thousand" seems no exaggeration. That Hamlet is given to running off into generalizations from particulars is one of his best-known characteristics. What has been happening to him is certainly a "calamity,"—his disappointments and disillusionments are the "whips and scorns of time." Claudius, the insulting and domineering king who scolded Hamlet publicly for his "unprevailing woe" and who forbade his return to school in Wittenberg, may very well appear like an "oppressor" and a "proud man" who treats him with "contumely." Ophelia's rejection of his advances, returning his letters and refusing him access to her, may have given rise to the "pangs of dispriz'd[1] love"; the "insolence of office" and "the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes" may be another

[1]The second quarto's "despiz'd" is, in all likelihood, due to the misreading of a *p* for the gothic *pr* brevigraph, a very common error in Elizabethan literature.

reference to the king's reprimand and to his daring to employ Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to spy on Hamlet; the "fardels" under which Hamlet grunts and sweats are the duty of revenge and the disgust with which he regards sinful humanity; and the "law's delay" may relate to the law of God, not to man-made laws. There is, therefore, nothing in Hamlet's melancholy reflections to justify the criticism that the grievances he enumerates are not personal.

On a previous occasion Hamlet had argued himself out of committing suicide—a thought which he never entertained any more seriously than most of us do when we think our burdens too heavy to bear—by religious considerations; now he is considering the subject from an ethical and philosophical point of view. He will do nothing that is inconsistent with a "noble mind,"—he would not leave a "wounded name" behind him. His reference to a "bourn whence no traveler returns" is no whit inconsistent with his encounter with his father's spirit. The Ghost of Hamlet Senior was an apparition; the spirit of one deceased, not a traveler in a foreign region who "returned" to live out the lease of nature.

But why should Hamlet be meditating on suicide on the day which may serve to remove all his doubts about the nature and veracity of the Ghost? The answer is simple: Hamlet knows that with the play he *will* catch the conscience of the King," that after that there can be no doubts, no hesitation, no excuses for delay. He can't bear the tension of waiting for the outcome of his plot. What will the king do? what will he say? what will the queen say and do? how will it affect her relations with her husband and with him, her son? what will be the effect on the court? what will he *do?* The suspense is too painful to endure. Thoughts of suicide are the inevitable result. The most effective and the most certain relief from the seemingly unbearable tension can be found only in death.

It is true, of course, as many have noted, that the soliloquy is somewhat incoherent, that there are gaps in the trains of thought, that it is not a model of logical thinking; but that is exactly what we should expect from a person of Hamlet's temperament in Hamlet's situation.

THE PLATFORM WHERE WE WATCHED

Hamlet is by no means the perfect play. In many respects it is a poor piece of work, stagey, theatrical, improbable, inconsistent, vague and so forth. But the editors and critics, not the author, are responsible for some of its weak spots. One of these objectionable features is the first stage-direction at the opening of the first scene of the first act. The early editions, we need hardly inform readers of the *Bulletin,* do not locate the scenes in this play; the reader was permitted to imagine the Watch and the Ghost's appearance wherever he pleased, but Rowe thought it necessary to instruct him that it was in "An open Place before the Palace"—which is the reading of almost all modern texts and justification for the practice of modern stage productions of the play. Capell, almost invariably vague if not unintelligible, suggested "platform of the Castle." None of these editors seems to have thought it necessary to define the word "Platform." Schmidt defines the word as "a terrace, an esplanade," and is followed by some modern editors. Shakspere twice refers to the scene as having been on a

"platform" but not in such a way as to make it clear what he had in mind.

That Shakspere could have meant a terrace in front of the palace seems impossible for several reasons. The ghost, wishing secrecy, would not have appeared so near the palace or in a public place where he might have been seen by almost anyone and caused a panic. In a time of threatening war the watch would not have risked their lives by sitting engaged in conversation all night long on the terrace of the castle. The conversation between Hamlet and Horatio about the kettle-drum and trumpets is more effective if the sounds of revelry reach them from a distance. The scene must therefore be thought of as being in a place remote from the palace—a wild, deserted spot aloft from which the watch could discover the approach of an enemy. From the definitions of "platform" given in the Oxford Dictionary we may conclude that Shakspere meant "a level place [even on top of a mountain] constructed for mounting guns in a . . . battery." That Shakspere thought of the country about Elsinore as mountainous is evident from Horatio's caution to Hamlet about the danger of being drawn to "the dreadful summit of the cliff that beetles o'er his base into the sea." Our stage-direction should therefore read: "A platform on a lofty mountain overlooking a highway."